

Colonial Mandates

By George W. Wickersham

New York Tribune
Special Cable Service
(Overnight, 1919, New York Tribune Inc.)
PARIS, Feb. 8.—Criticism from America of the adoption by the peace conference of the principle of governance of the German colonies by nations acting under the mandate of the league of nations has been received here with some surprise. It is well understood here that the principle has been adopted as a compromise of opposing views and it is regarded as a workable scheme.

The advocates of internationalization of these colonies considered well attempts in the past to administer imperfectly developed countries by joint national control. There is no example of the successful administration of colonies by several powers acting in union. What reason then is there to believe that the unborn league of nations could administer them successfully or embark upon such a field where joint national action proved unproductive of good results? Undoubtedly it was felt unjust to the peoples of these colonies and other places to subject them to the hazards of experimental government.

As to German West Africa and South Africa their most obvious and most wished-for destiny is to become self-governing states and members of the South African Union. British guardianship until this stage is reached would seem the natural and best means of developing them along the lines tending to that end. So with every one of the colonies and places which present similar problems; a single national administrator, preferably countries such as Great Britain and France, which have demonstrated their ability to govern colonies with justice, is surely more desirable than a unitary agency organized on the basis of cooperation of several nations without any developed and definite unit of purpose.

Objections Met By

Mandatory Principle

The objection that single-nation control may lead to selfish exploitation against the welfare of the colony is met by the mandatory principle. In every instance the nation holding the mandate must administer the affairs of the colony or country in tutelage upon certain principles laid down in the mandate and for the observance of which it is responsible to the league of nations. Thus also is established the right of the people concerned of appeal to the league of nations in cases of abuse of power or failure to carry out in spirit the trust under which the

mandate is executed. When a colony attains a degree of development entitling it to assume full responsibility of self-government or to exercise the right of association with some contiguous state the league of nations is empowered to determine the extent to which its aspirations may be allowed fulfillment.

This entire plan does not indicate any lack of strength in the proposed league of nations. Rather does it indicate a wise restraint on the part of its promoters in not imposing impossible tasks upon it at the outset. Direct government of the colonies was not made a part of the published programme of the League to Enforce Peace, nor of any other organization formed to promote a method for preventing future wars through the organization of a general society of nations.

Conference to Follow Successful Method

The problems of what to do with the former German colonies, with Syria, Mesopotamia and Constantinople, have resulted from the events of the war. Unsuccessful experiments in governments of peoples are paid for with the blood and treasure of men, women and children. Surely the peace conference has wisely chosen to follow paths where success has attended previous efforts rather than subject millions of people to the possibly uncertain councils and divided control of the newly formed association of many nations.

If the league of nations is to be successful it must not be overloaded with burdens at the beginning of its existence. It will be confronted with more than one problem, each sufficient to absorb the attention of those who are directing the operations for the preservation of peace in Europe and the prevention of the dangers of Bolshevism. Above all, it must secure a real peace for the world against a reviving of German ambitions. For some time to come it must stand sentinel over the little nations which it is proposed to erect in Europe and which, it is feared, will spread the dangers of Balkan interstate jealousies from the Egean to the Baltic.

Let us not delude ourselves with thinking that the new reign of peace and justice in the world can be established by paper constitutions and a league of nations. A world conscience must first be developed, based upon a new sense of world responsibility. To overload the new organization with heavy burdens at the outset of its existence will inevitably lead to failure.

Fears Germany Is To Escape Penalty For Treaty Wrongs

'London Post' Roused Over Waning Demand for a Heavy Fine; Sees Danger in Principles of League

New York Tribune
European Bureau
(Overnight, 1919, New York Tribune Inc.)
LONDON, Feb. 8.—In an editorial headed "Keep Your Eye on Paris" "The Morning Post" emphasizes a view which is gaining ground here and which must inevitably affect the negotiations now proceeding. "The Post" says:

"When the Prime Minister was inquiring the support of the British electorate he was asked to declare himself without ambiguity on one question. Germany had committed a great crime against England. She had forced us into a war by the violation of a treaty to which we had affixed our signature, and attacked our neighbors, which threatened ourselves. In the prosecution of this crime she had slain close on to a million of our people and destroyed many millions worth of our property. It was a capital crime, but Germany was allowed to escape capital punishment."

"Was she also to escape a fine?" "That was the question put to Lloyd George. In reply he accepted the opinion of the British people that Germany should be made to pay an indemnity."

"We do not say that he left no doubt in our mind as to his attitude, because we are accustomed to judge people not by what they say but by what they do. But this may be said: The Premier left no doubt in the mind of the British electorate. He affirmed the principle of indemnity; he went further and declared that although one set of financial advisers had thrown some doubt upon the ability of Germany to pay, another later body of experts had swept away those doubts and assured him of Germany's capacity to pay."

"On these professions Lloyd George was returned to power by practically the whole nation, and it is certain that if he had said anything else to the electorate the result would have been something different. But what has happened since? It has been put out with every appearance of authority that the conference has tacitly dropped the question of indemnity."

"There are various explanations of this attitude. One is that the radical principles of our old friend the league of nations."

"As we have had occasion to point out more than once, it is a marvellous coincidence that the principles of the league of nations are always favorable to Germany and hostile to England. We should have supposed that there would be no better vindication of the principle of a league of nations than the levying of a heavy fine in addition to the damages upon the party which has been clearly proved to have violated every principle for which the league of nations is supposed to stand."

"If the enthusiasts of the league were sincere in their detestation of Germany, have they done their duty? Have they been the first to support the indemnity? But we have always noticed that there is a very definite limit to the enthusiasm of those enthusiasts, and that the limit is reached every time anything injurious to Germany is suggested."

"This curious phenomenon can only be explained on the hypothesis that the welfare of Germany is even more important to the league than the welfare of the world. The result is, and from this discovery it is not difficult to arrive at the conclusion that the league of nations is being used

British Labor Believes War Fought in Vain

Failure to Obtain German Lands and Indemnity Is Seen as Cause of Unrest

Steel Man Offers Remedy

Maximum Workday and a Minimum Wage Urged as Features of Peace Plan

By Samuel Crowther

New York Tribune
European Bureau
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LONDON, Feb. 9.—It is becoming increasingly evident that the labor unrest is daily fed by the obscurity which surrounds the doings of the peace conference and the growing feeling among British workers that the war has been fought in vain. They were expecting a large indemnity from Germany and realization of their hopes in regard to annexation of the German colonies as a reward for their own war effort. They now see little chance of either.

They read of Germany being in good condition and ready to go forward with her peace work. It makes no difference whether or not these things are true. The point is they believe them, and in resentment they turn to Bolshevism and arguments of the nature of "I told you so." They are equally at odds with the government and the national labor leaders who are identified with the government.

Remedy for Unrest Offered

The most constructive suggestion I have yet heard for settlement of the labor troubles here and elsewhere was made to me to-day by Sir Robert Hadfield, owner of Hadfield's, Ltd., the great steel works at Sheffield. He said: "The workingman has the right to short hours and high pay, but the employers think they cannot grant them because of competition. In that they are to some extent wrong, for I have had the eight-hour day for twenty years and it has proved more economical than the longer day. But it is hard to convince employers that the short day is better than the long one."

"Therefore, I suggest that the league of nations could not do better than to include a maximum workday and a minimum working wage in its platform. Then manufacturers the world over would overcome their difficulties and could start on an equal basis, and the problem of working hours would be removed from discussion."

"The suggestion is radical to a degree, but not at all impossible of execution, and would be the best answer which is helping to spread class war in this talk about intensive production and intense trade competition. The worker sees that the programme is only one of exploitation of himself."

View of Worker Recognized

"Perhaps he is right, for I am sure some backward employers will take the ground that extensive and cheap production can be had only at the expense of the worker. If we limit hours we force every one to use machines, to better their methods and to remove the possibility of merely exploiting human labor."

I talked with the Right Hon. George H. Roberts, now Minister of Food, and through the closing years of the war Minister of Labor. He is largely advising Bonar Law, Mr. Roberts is a trade unionist and thinks the present crisis is only a reaction from war work and that it will be adjusted if sufficient but not too much firmness is used. We cannot see the union structure pulled down. That would be the result of the present strikes if they are successful. My remedy is to put the plan of joint industrial councils into force immediately, so the men can know through their own representatives exactly what the problem of the employer is and then try to help him.

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solve it rather than seek to destroy the business."

The joint industrial councils is part of a plan for the national organization of all shops with committees representing both the employer and the employee. Similar district committees are to supervise shop committees and over them, again, are national committees, so the trades will resolve themselves into a kind of guild form in which both masters and men will have their hearings.

"One of our present difficulties," continued Mr. Roberts, "is the shorter hours which have been all but decided upon but cannot be put into force until production limits are taken off. But the present generation of workers has been brought up under limitation of hours and they will not easily give it up. The employer and the employee will have to see eye to eye on this question before a satisfactory adjustment can be made."

Bolshevik Forces Evacuate Vilna as Finns Gain Ground

Petrograd Refugees See Either Imperialism or Nihilism From Regime; Say Trotsky May Be Czar

BASEL, Feb. 9.—Advices received here from Kovno assert that as a result of the success of the Lithuanian troops and an advance by Finnish and Estonian troops the Bolsheviks have evacuated Vilna.

WARSAW, Feb. 7 (By The Associated Press).—That Bolshevism is in its critical stage, either turning to imperialism, with perhaps Leon Trotsky, Minister of War and Marine, as the new Emperor, or slipping back to the idea of Nihilism, with a sort of orderly dictatorship of all nationalities who have arrived here from Russia. One of them was a Bolshevik soldier who deserted while his contingent was engaged in the capture of the city of Minsk.

Trotsky knows Bolshevism. He said, "Our chief characteristic," he said, "is that we are tired—tired of fooling, tired of killing, tired of fighting and tired of wandering from pillar to post. There is no doubt that Leon Trotsky is attempting to obtain order and to put the troops into shape. He is known to be terribly anxious, and possibly he is dreaming of becoming Czar, knowing that Bolshevism has failed."

Recent rumors that the Soviet government troops had evacuated the grand troops are unconfirmed. There was a general belief in Petrograd during January that the Allies were about to attack the country west of Moscow, that the Entente Powers had issued a proclamation to that effect, and many persons claimed to be able to cite quotations from the document. Bolshevik chiefs have been alarmed and a trainload of supplies was recently turned back while on the road from Moscow to Petrograd, in the belief that the Allies were in the latter city.

Trotsky is reported to have changed from his flashy clothes and red neckties to a uniform. He is said to be riding here and there on the train formerly at the disposal of the Emperor, and to be using the former imperial automobile.

The deaths at Berlin of Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the German Spartacist leaders, apparently made a deep impression on the Bolshevik chieftains. Trotsky ordered public mourning at Petrograd for them. Streetcar traffic was stopped, but when officers tried to close the theatres the sailors are reported to have declared they were going to dance and enjoy themselves as usual.

It is said that Feodor Chalapine, a favorite opera singer during the later days of the imperial regime, is singing at the opera at Moscow at an enormous salary.

Reports have been received that executions are being hurried so that jailors may have a holiday during the celebrations, there being an average of from six to eight persons put to death each day at Petrograd and Moscow.

Arrivals from Petrograd are now very rare.

Germans Pass First Reading Of Constitution

Assembly Votes by Acclamation on the Provisional Draft; Next Steps To-day

Preserves Prussia Intact

Makes No Other Attempt to Limit Permanent Articles; Ebert Speech Disappoints

WEIMAR, Feb. 8 (By The Associated Press).—The German National Assembly to-day passed the first reading of the provisional constitution by acclamation. The second and third readings are set for Monday, to which day the session was adjourned.

The main portion of the Assembly's time to-day was devoted to a speech by Hugo Preuss, Secretary of the Interior, who had been engaged in drafting the constitution. The Minister explained the character of the provisions of the instrument, from which the Assembly is to derive its powers as a law-making body.

The provisional constitution empowers the Assembly to adopt a permanent constitution and to enact "such national laws as are urgently necessary." It provides for the choosing of a National President by a majority vote, and for the creation of a "Committee of State," which shall occupy the position of a quasi-second chamber.

The provisional constitution makes no attempt to anticipate or limit the future permanent constitution, excepting as to one vital detail. This is a provision that the territory of the German States shall not be altered without their consent. This is obvious without the government's method of meeting the opposition evoked by the earlier reports that a division of Prussia was contemplated.

Sentiment is fairly crystallized, after various party caucuses, in favor of transferring the assembly to Berlin after the Easter holidays. It is probable that there will be an adjournment on April 11, after which the president will call upon the Assembly to reconvene at Berlin. The Independent Socialists favor an immediate transfer, but they stand alone in this demand.

Members of all parties, except the Majority Socialists, express disappointment over Premier Ebert's opening address to the Assembly, which is considered weak and inadequate and which has evidently lowered Herr Ebert's stock very greatly.

BASEL, Switzerland, Feb. 9.—The German Majority Socialists, the German Democrats and the Centrists have reached a complete understanding on the question of participation in the new German government, according to the "Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger."

German Soldiers Demand a National Congress of Soviets

BERLIN, Feb. 7 (By The Associated Press).—The Congress of Soldiers' Councils attached to various German army corps concluded its sessions here to-day with the adoption of a resolution calling upon the Central Council of the Soldiers' and Workmen's Boards to summon a general congress of all the German Soviets by Feb. 20. If the Central Council of twenty-seven members refuses to comply, the executive committee of the Berlin local council is given authority to summon such a congress.

As the Berlin body is wholly dominated by radical elements, it is expected it will lose no time in making use of the prerogative given it, especially as the Central Council of twenty-seven already has returned its mandate to the National Assembly at Weimar, on the principle that its functions would cease with the installation of the new coalition democratic government.

There seems no doubt that the workmen's boards all over Germany are in full accord with the action of the soldiers, and thus the prospective fight of the soldiers against the policy of the government and of its present attitude toward the Soviets. One Hamburg delegate declared 40,000 workmen in Hamburg were under arms, and if the Gerstenberger Division, now occupying Bremen, at-

tempted to enter Hamburg the first shot fired would be a signal for the blowing up of bridges and of food cargo vessels. The workmen, he declared, were well organized into companies, and the Hamburg Soviet had at its disposal in addition 100,000 troops within the precincts of the Nineteenth Army Corps.

The congress also adopted a resolution declaring that the ordinance of the Minister of War on January 19, affecting the authority of the Soviets, was illegal.

Polish Assembly Meets; Paderewski To Head Republic

Holdings of Land Are Expected To Be Limited to 1,000 Acres; Leaders Plan Curb on Emigration

WARSAW, Feb. 9 (By The Associated Press).—With the meeting of new Poland's first Constitutional Assembly to-day at the Marius Institute, the work of creating a permanent government will be well under way. It is expected that after the first gathering, with the picturesque features furnished by many members wearing the garb of ancient Poland, the Assembly will quickly get down to business, adopt the constitution which already has been for the greater part drafted, and elect a President of the republic, who probably will be Ignace Jan Paderewski, General Joseph Pilsudski is slated for a prominent post in the new Ministry.

The majority group in the Assembly comprises National Democrats and representatives of the Peasant party, with Jewish representatives and the Socialists in the minority. There will be about 200 members for the present, including delegates from the provinces where it was impossible to hold elections. The National Democrats claim 91 members, the Polish Peasants 51, the Peasants' Union 19, the Socialists 14, the Workmen's Union 7, the Jewish party 8, the United Polish Peasants 6 and the German Colonists 2.

One of the big questions to come up is the division of the land. It is expected that any one person will be limited to holding 1,000 acres, but proper payment is to be made for ever big properties are sub-divided. It seems improbable, however, that action along this line will be taken immediately, as all the parties fear to precipitate worse financial conditions by hurried action. Representatives of the propertied classes, among which the peasants are largely represented, declare they were frightened by the taste of Socialistic government they got in November and December.

One of the moves planned is prevention of emigration of peasants to America, the desire being to encourage them to remain at home and also to induce those in America to return and work the land.

The great part which the women seem likely to take in the future of Poland was emphasized in the election, which went strongly conservative with the help of their votes. They elected to the Assembly Mme. Barlicka, head of the Teachers' Institute, and they

were also strong in support of the Paderewski ticket.

Paderewski Planned To Refuse Presidency Of Poland, Says Son

W. O. Gorski, step son of Ignace Jan Paderewski, the Prime Minister of Poland, said yesterday that Paderewski, on sailing from New York for Poland last November, expressed a determination not to accept the presidency of the Polish republic.

"Mr. Paderewski told his family before sailing that he positively would not accept the high honor," said Mr. Gorski. "My mother, while en route to Europe, also wrote me of his firm determination not to accept. His reason was that he wished to devote the rest of his life to art. He was willing to make big sacrifices to put Poland on her feet, but that done, he wished to return to his work as a pianist. He felt that if he became president he could not afterward accept a lesser position in life. He did not feel that as former president of Poland he could accept money for admission to hear him play."

"Let the latest reports from Warsaw indicate an increasing demand that he accept the office."

"As Prime Minister, Mr. Paderewski was to deliver a speech to the Assembly to-day. I am sure he was very nervous. He always is when he is preparing to make a speech. It would be interesting to see him standing there in that historic assembly—the big, fine, sincere man so familiar to the frequenters of Carnegie Hall."

"Poland as a republic will enter the family of European nations, the fifth in importance. It will be territorially a little larger and numerically a little smaller than Italy. It has a population of 30,000,000. About one-half of the 13,000,000 Jews of the world live in Poland."

Polish Leader Sees Intrigue by Germans

In Plea for Danzig

WASHINGTON, Feb. 9.—Prince Lichnowsky's authorized interview of a reporter against the inclusion of Prussian Poland with the port of Danzig within the new Polish state was characterized to-day by John F. Smulski, Polish Commissioner in the United States, as a most daring and brazen piece of German propaganda.

"The German princeling," said Mr. Smulski, "does not only intend the Polish people by intimating that they are incapable of self-government, but has reflected on the judgment of President Wilson and his advisers, who less than ten days ago recognized the new Polish state under the Premiership of Mr. Paderewski."

"Less than a month ago I was warned by the Polish authorities in Paris and by Paderewski that a new German propaganda drive aiming to upset the confidence of the American people in a united Polish state was under way, but I hardly expected that it would appear in so crude a form."

Armed Costa Rican Force Said to Menace Nicaragua

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Feb. 9.—It is semi-officially reported that Frederic A. Tinoco, President of Costa Rica, is threatening the Nicaraguan frontier with forces commanded by Nicaraguan exiles. It is stated also that Costa Rica is not being threatened from Nicaragua, and that Nicaragua never has had less men under arms than at the present time.

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